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Kulturkampf!

by Murray N. Rothbard

Yes, yes, you rotten hypocritical liberals, it's a culture war! And high time, too! It is, of course, typical of our liberal "intellectual" and media elite: after having ridden through and captured our culture, after twenty-odd years (at least!) of their cultural conquest of America proceeding almost unopposed, after completing their successful Gramscian (note: much revered Italian Stalinist of the 1920s) "long march through our institutions," liberals were just about ready to sit down and treat us as their conquered province. When suddenly, some of us beleaguered provincials began to fight back—rallied, of course, by Pat Buchanan's speech at the Republican National Convention.

And then, oh the *geschrei* and oh the *gewald*! Once again, doffing the few shreds that remain of our Respectable Media's guise of objectivity, the wailing and the whining blared throughout the country: Buchanan is "dividing us," he has "exposed the dark side of America," and once again everyone referred to Pat's perpetual "scowl." (Who, by the way, has ever seen Pat scowling? No social observer or political figure has been more sunny, or more good-humored—in the face, of course, of unparalleled viciousness and perpetual smear.)

Gee, since when has politics ever "divided" us? I thought, and until the 20th century it was gloriously true, that the whole point of politics is to "divide" people, to separate people by principle and ideology and to have them slug it out, each trying to gain a majority support of the population. Isn't that the point of democratic politics, of a more-than-one-party system?

No: of course not, not in the view of the liberal ideologues and sleaze-merchants who dominate our culture. To them, the point of being radical in politics is indeed to divide, and then to gain control; but, after left-liberalism has gained that control, then the point is to drug the country and the political system, then the point is to unite everyone, including both parties, under their own rule, then the point is to keep everyone united and to

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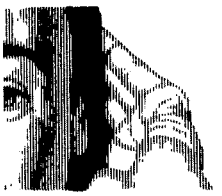
Yes, yes, you rotten hypocritical liberals, it's a culture war!



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Uncle Miltie's act is getting tiresome. No, not Milton Berle, who is tiresome on his own, but Uncle Miltie Friedman. For decades now, he's been expressing outrage at Mises's "intolerance" because, at the founding meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947, Mises—after listening to the other worthies (including then-young Miltie) agree on a progressive income tax—stalked out, exclaiming, "you're all a bunch of socialists!"

Apparently, this incident traumatized Miltie permanently.

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
In recent years, this story—now forty-five years old—is virtually all Miltie talks about anymore. Free markets, the "money rule," all of Miltie's interests, seem to have faded away, leaving only this King Charles' head, which Friedman brings up at every opportunity.

At this summer's Mont Pelerin meeting at Vancouver, Miltie told this story at no less than two luncheons, one of them in honor of Hayek. Except now he added that, reading Hayek's letters to good old Keynes in the 1930s, Miltie is shocked to find that Hayek, too, whom Miltie had previously praised as the soul of tolerance, was terribly intolerant with Keynes. Miltie, adding psychology to his other qualifications, concludes that Hayek was mean to Keynes because he was still under Mises's baleful influence, but later at Chicago, Hayek mellowed (under *guess who's* influence?).

When I told this story to one of the few people who studied under all three of these eminent economists, he was thunderstruck: "What! Friedman accused *Mises* of intolerance! You've got to be kidding!" He went on to expound on *Friedman*'s intolerance at some length.

There are many curiosities about this story. One question is why "tolerance" is so important to begin with. A second is that the people whom Friedman most admires: Frank Knight and Karl Popper, were virtual monuments to intolerance: Popper, who thinks that anyone who disagrees with one iota of his thought is evil and a plagiarist to boot; Knight, who was so fanatically anti-Catholic that he deliberately insulted any priests or nuns in his class until they were driven from the room.

At best, there are several unflattering adjectives that spring to mind about Miltie's performance: "intolerant" of course, "hypocritical," and, frankly, "loopy."

* * * * *

Also at Mt. Pelerin, a teary-eyed David Boaz, executive vice president of the Cato Institute, denounced the two Rs because I "made light" of AIDS. This is so heinous, said Dave, that no one can have any truck with either R. Nor should anyone read Murray's books. "What if a mass murderer laid flowers on his mother's grave?" asked a choked-up Dave. "Are we to forgive him?" Also not to be forgiven: the two Rs' support of "the homophobe Buchanan" for President. Dave did say that he was mystified by the two "homophobic" Rs' friendship with San Francisco writer Justin Raimondo, "whom even I would describe as a flaming faggot." Such language, Dave! But let me explain: Justin is not only a great guy, he also rejects your solipsistic, victimological agenda.

* * * * *

Speaking of Justin, he's now editor of San Francisco's *Pacific Business Review*, a recent issue of which caused gays to burn one of his newsstands, threaten his death, and pressure his advertisers. Why? Because his cover story was "The Hate Campaign Against the Boy Scouts" in which he defended that organization's decision not to hire homosexual scoutmasters. The two gay newspaper also attacked him because Justin was San Francisco coordinator for the Buchanan campaign.

* * * * *

"Oh, brother," said Justin, when informed of Dave's remark. "These guys can't see beyond their next sexual encounter. There *are* other issues in the world, like war or peace, tyranny or freedom, civilization or the jungle. Imagine if heterosexuals made every decision, saw every issue, judged all of history and culture, on the basis of *their* genitals!"

* * * * *

The fabulously powerful Lew Wasserman, for many years Ronald Reagan's "control" as head of MCA artists' agency, and The Big Man in Hollywood (now also head of Universal Studios), held a $10,000 per head party at his home to raise money for Bill Clinton. Wasserman expected to raise $1.5 million from Hollywood powerhouses David Geffen (record company owner), Mike Ovitz (big shot agent), Steven Spielberg, oil-entertainment mogul Marvin Davis, and others. How come that Wasserman could shift so easily from Reagan to Clinton? What are the ties that bind? ■

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(Kulturkampf. . .cont. from P.1)
denounce anyone who exposes their errors and sins as terribly and viciously "divisive."

It's an old ploy, and yet it seems to work every time. As Joe Sobran put it in his syndicated column (8/30): "The Democrats are the party of economic parasites, using the taxing power to allow one sector of the population to live off the other." "Naturally," Joe adds, "they and their media allies hold 'divisiveness' to be a cardinal sin. the parasitical organism doesn't want the host to think of itself as a distinct entity, with interests of its own. So it tries rhetorically to 'unify' the two organisms in the undifferentiated pronoun 'we'. . . ." Exactly!

It's a rum world where kids can't pray in school voluntarily, but condoms are distributed coercively by the state.

Government and Culture

The liberal elite was confident that their monstrous smear campaign had disposed of Pat Buchanan forever, but here he was, back, on prime time on Monday night, and not only that: setting the stage, and the tone, for the entire convention: raising the standard of cultural war, of Taking Back Our Culture.

And then, the hypocritical liberals, led by my least favorite Mclaughlin Grouper Eleanor Clift, mockingly whined: "How can you conservatives who are against government treat culture as a political issue?" Simple. It's because you liberals have used government massively to take over our culture. Therefore, government has to be used to get itself out. Consider the items:

Victimology: government has been used to create a phony set of "rights" for every designated victim group under the sun, to be used to dominate and exploit the rest of us for the special gain of these cosseted groups. Go down the list: black "rights," gay "rights," women's "rights," lesbian "rights," handicapped "rights," Hispanic (or, more P.C., "Latino") "rights," "Senior Citizen rights," and on and on. Hillary Clinton (see below) is a specialist in the special "rights" of another "victim" group: children. On and on the assault grows: and in every case government, technocrats, official "therapists," and the malignant New Class grant themselves and accredited victim groups ever-increasing power to exploit, dominate, and loot an ever-dwindling group of: middle-aged, white, English-speaking, Christian, and especially heterosexual male parents. Culture war? It was launched decades ago and liberals were almost into the mopping-up stage before the oppressed finally woke up.

Want some more examples of government in culture? the monstrous and swollen public-school bureaucracy, ever-widening its grip, inculcating the helpless young charges in its care, not only in statism and the "virtue" of obedience to the state and the dominant elites, but also: infecting them with the culture of nihilism, feel-good hedonism, anti-Christianity, topped off by the distribution of free condoms over the objection of parents. As even President Bush noted, it's a rum world where kids can't pray in school voluntarily, but condoms are distributed coercively by the state. And there are continuing lessons in stamping out hate-thought, with any kid or teacher suspected of hate-thought subjected to compulsory "sensitivity training" and brain-washing "therapy" sessions. Culture separate from government? Don't make me laugh.

In my many decades of "extremist" political writing, probably the least inherently controversial was my column in the *Los Angeles Times*, "Hold Back the Hordes for Four More Years" (7/30), in which I reluctantly but firmly advocated Bush over Clinton in November. I had thought it was one of my most innocuous writings. I did not, after all, invent the concept of "the lesser of two evils." An yet, go figure. It was reprinted in dozens of papers across the country, drawing an unprecedented number of angry

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letters, some published, more anonymous and written in the usual crayon.

Vituperative? Wow! A "disabled Holocaust survivor" wrote that, as such, he is trained to detect Nazis, and he knows, from this column, that I would have been a top Nazi commandant at a gas chamber. My office at Las Vegas was defaced several times.

Less frenetic was a published letter protesting my attack on "lesbian rights," and asking rhetorically: would I also object to the term "Jewish rights?" The answer, of course, is Yes. I am against all "rights" for special groups, because these "rights" are simply unjust claims on the pocketbook, on the status, and on the trumped-up guilt feelings of all those not in these specially privileged groups. The only rights I favor are the rights of each individual to his person and property, free of the vicious assaults of phony "rights" creators.

In this view, I am not being original. I am in the "radical Lockean" tradition of the founders of the American Republic, of the Commonwealthmen, of the American Revolutionaries, of the Anti-Federalists, the Jeffersonians, etc. These are the "natural rights" for which the Founding Fathers fought against the statism of the British Empire. And, as Richard Tuck makes clear in his excellent book on *Natural Rights Theories*, these are the "active natural rights" of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Dominican Order, where each man has dominion over his own person and property free of molestation, as against the "passive rights" or claims-on-everyone-else pushed in the 13th century by the Dominicans' great rivals, the Franciscans. Unfortunately, while the Catholic Church sided with the Dominicans by the 14th century, the latter-day "Franciscans" seem to have won out.

Government and culture: Hillary, who promised to be a virtual co-President before she alienated millions of people, is an expert in the brand-new legal field of "children's rights." She is praised as a pathbreaking legal theorist by ultra-leftist Gary Wills in the *New York Review of Books*. In a Hillarious world, children begin with the presumption of competence, and are encouraged to run their lives without parental control or sometimes even consent: e.g., on such important matters as motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment.

The defenders of family values are the Buchananites, the Schlaflyites, and the other conservative Republicans who want to preserve, or to recover, the traditional two-parent family.

In all the welter of talk about "family values" this campaign season, one point is crystal clear: either parents run kids, or the State runs them via its host of New Class lawyers, licensed "therapists," social workers, counselors, child specialists, and the rest, all in the name of children's "rights" or "empowerment." For we know darned well that 12-year old children going to court to sue their parents are going to be run by shrewd and manipulative lawyers, and the rest of the New Class crew.

The lines are clearly drawn: the defenders of family values are the Buchananites, the Schlaflyites, and the other conservative Republicans who want to preserve, or to recover, the traditional two-parent family as it has flourished in the West. Hillary and the army of left-liberals in total control of the Democratic Party and who constitute the intellectual and media elites, aim to pursue the ancient utopian, socialist dream of destruction of the family, the destruction of private lives, on behalf of the universal State-family.

The model is Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, a novel published in the early 1930s, which caught the left-liberal spirit of our century: children brought up by the State and its army of professional "helpers," firmly encouraging each kid to engage in hedonism and polymorphously perverse sexual play, kept content by an opiate drug called "soma," and kept docile and obedient by the State elite. A frightening and perceptive picture—and a lot closer to reality

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now, sixty years later.

The culture war has to be fought, tooth and nail, inch by inch, yard by yard. We have got to Take the Culture Back, and that's what the new *kulturkampf* is all about.

After denouncing Hillary in his speech, Pat Buchanan pointed out that Hillary has "compared marriage as an institution to slavery," and then he denounced the "Clinton & Clinton agenda" for America: which includes "radical feminism," abortion on demand, "homosexual rights," discrimination against religious schools, and the sending of women into combat. Pat commented that this "is not the kind of change America wants. It is not the kind of change America needs." And, in a thundering conclusion: "it's not the kind of change we can tolerate in a nation that we still call God's country."

That Pat's speech was correct is demonstrated by the orgy of hate the media promptly heaped upon him—and by their friendly reception to Reagan's absurdly inappropriate repetition of his standard "Morning in America" optimism. For the whole point of the new cultural war is that it is now far from Morning in America. If anything, the time is more like the old atomic clock drawn by the anti-nuclear war scientists: It's Five Minutes to Midnight in America. Our backs are to the wall.

And so Pat sounded the trumpet call: "My friends, this election is about much more than who gets what. It is about who we are. It is about what we believe. It is about what we stand for as Americans. There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war.... And in that struggle for the soul of America, Clinton & Clinton are on the other side, and George Bush is on our side." Yes! Yes!

Pat concluded his great address, this man who has been widely accused of "hating immigrants," by praising the "brave people of Koreatown." It is instructive that of all the people at both conventions, Pat Buchanan was the only one to mention one of the defining events of our time, certainly of 1992 and beyond: the L.A. riots. Pat talked about how the youthful federal troops, finally arriving after two days of bloody rioting, "took back the streets of Los Angeles, block by block." And so, Pat proclaimed, "we must take back our cities, and take back our culture, and take back our country." Yes, yes, yes!

At the final morning panel of the January 1992 meeting of the John Randolph Club, top political scientist Claes Ryn asked a thoughtful question about government and culture. To the effect: "we have talked about politics and government this weekend, but shouldn't we be concentrating not on politics but on the culture?" It was a cogent question from an important traditionalist scholar, to which, a brilliant reply was delivered by the eminent paleoconservative historian and literary critic, M.E. Bradford. "Yes," said Mel Bradford, "but if we can get control of the executive branch, we can put a stop to the enormous amount of poison that the government keeps injecting into our culture." Precisely. Aside from the unfortunate but important role of the President as commander of a "bully pulpit," the executive branch can lead the government out of these cultural invasions.

Furthermore, I, along with other paleos, am convinced that the Old Culture, the culture pervading America from the 1920s through the 1950s, yes the culture of the much-derided *Ozzie and Harriet* and the *Waltons*, that that culture was in tune not only with the American spirit but with natural law. And further, that the nihilistic, hedonistic, ultra-feminist, egalitarian "alternative" culture that has been foisted upon us by left-liberalism is not only not in tune with, but deeply violates the essence of that human nature that developed, not only in America before the 1960s, but throughout the Western world and Western civilization.

Since I am convinced that left-liberal, and the now dominant, culture is profoundly anti-human nature, I am convinced that removing the poison, as Mel Bradford put it, and getting government out of the picture, would spark a return to natural law and the Old Culture with much greater speed. If it took the intellectual/media political elites twenty-five years to effect their own Cultural Revolution, then we should be able to lead a successful counter-Revolution in much less time.

But to do so, of course, requires identification of the

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nature of the problem and of the enemy, and then the willingness of leaders to rise up and provide the call to "arms."

Media Bias and Faking Reality

But how will we take back the media? Or rather, how do we insure a level playing field in this vitally important battle of ideas? In many ways, from simple reading or listening to scholarly studies, we *know* that the media, especially the Respectable Media, the respectable press, and national TV, are overwhelmingly left-liberal in ideology. And we know, too, that the media have been, for a long time, biased against conservatives and libertarians, and in favor of left-liberalism. (I'm not talking so much of the *owners*, who range from mildly liberal to mildly conservative, but the editors, writers, newsmen, actors, entertainers, comics, etc.—the "cultural elite.") But, until very recently, and with the exception of the Goldwater campaign, the media—except when they are clearly labeled as columnists, commentators, or Op-Ed writers—sometimes tried to cleave to an ideal of objectivity and fair-mindedness—to provide some kind of balance, so that the public has the tools to make their own judgments and decisions.

That is no longer true. Within the last year, beginning with the Anita Hill confrontation, and then the Rodney King uproar, and now with the media love affair with Clinton and hatred of conservative Republicans—the media have cast aside any pretensions of objectivity. Bias, love of liberals and hatred of their enemies, oozes out of the media at every pore. Take the way the TV and press treated the two conventions. Everything about the Democratic convention was prettified and glorified to make it seem a love-feast of unity and reasonable "moderation." Any sour notes were played down or buried by the media.

And then, at the Republican convention: everything any Republican said was immediately countered, even in headlines, either by some Democrat "refutation," or by the journalist's own phony "correction" of the record. No stone was left unturned in this quest. The media made the Republican convention out to be disunited, riven, captured by "right-wing extremists;" when the truth is that conservatives were no more dominant at this convention and on this year's platform than they have been for a generation, and that Ann Stone and her pro-choicers had only pitiful support among the delegates.

Often the public, which has a healthy distrust of the liberal media, can see through the distortions, as they did in persisting in disbelieving the "martyr" Anita Hill. But how can the public see the truth when the media are not only systematically biased, but are now engaged in faking reality? A glaring example: the media's constant replaying of the doctored Rodney King tape, and, with the honorable exceptions of CNN and Court-TV, not allowing us to see and hear the truth, the other side of the story, the non-doctored tape.

The American public, because of this organized mendacity, still believes that Rodney King was an innocent "motorist" beaten because he is black; and therefore it is convinced that the verdict of the jury (who had the opportunity to hear both sides and see everything) must have been a "racist" miscarriage of justice. And when the media all say that the jury trying the police officers were "all white," how is the public supposed to find out that there was one black on the jury as well as a couple of Hispanics? And how is the public to know the truth when the media formed a praetorian guard around the very damaging Gennifer Flowers tape, and brusquely dismissed that tape as "edited" without ever repeating what Clinton and Gennifer said?

So how do we dislodge the biased, faking media? The existence of new cable networks, such as CNN, C-SPAN, and Court-TV—the latter two in particular being studiously objective and not getting in the way of the public's view of reality—has done a lot of good by providing alternatives to the networks. Just as "little" magazines provide some alternatives to the Respectable newspapers and journals. But they are not enough. More ways must be found to obtain a level playing field, to obtain a chance for truth to break through the Media Curtain.

Woody Allen, Murphy Brown, and the Art-for-Art's Sake Scam

Arrant liberal hypocrisy pops up every time someone criticizes

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fiction or art from a traditional-values perspective. The mocking sneer: don't they know it's only fiction? As if art, fiction, movies, have no consequences, no role in molding the attitudes and values of the imbibers of that culture! Doesn't Dan Quayle know that *Murphy Brown* is "only fiction?" and yet how clear is the line between fiction and "reality," when the fictional *Murphy Brown* angrily replies to Dan Quayle in her "fictional" role as TV anchor-lady; when real-life left-liberal TV anchorladies happily appear along with "Murphy Brown" on the latter's show, and when the Emmy Awards are turned into a lengthy round of such obvious Quayle-bashing that even left-liberal *Los Angeles Times* TV critic Howard Rosenberg was appalled? And when Candice Bergen herself exemplifies the leftist values and the leftist politics of her "fictional" embodiment?

The Renaissance was a conscious movement to celebrate and embody Incarnation theology.

And so: whenever conservatives and traditionalists attack nihilistic, leftist, or obscene art or fiction, liberals smugly trot out the "art-for-art's-sake" ploy, claiming that only idiots and Philistines don't realize that art is and should be totally separate from ethics or politics. And yet, the hypocrisy becomes all too glaringly evident whenever leftists don't like the art in question. Let a script, or a novel, or play, or movie, or artwork, tread on all-too-sensitive liberal toes, and oh the outrage! Then we hear about the necessity to purge the art-work of all possible "racism, sexism, homophobia," hate thought, or any other in the lengthening thesaurus of political "incorrectness." What price "art-for-art's sake" then?

In point of fact: *l'art pour l'art* has been a scam and a hoax from the very beginning. From the onset of civilization down to the end of the 19th century, the idea of art-for-art's-sake would have been considered absurd, by the critics, the general public, and by the artists themselves. While each art of course has its own esthetic criteria, these criteria have always been intimately intertwined with ethics, religious values, worldviews, and even directly with political philosophies held by the artist. Aristotle's definition of art in the *Poetics*: depicting man as he can be and should be, is typical of all art and not the eccentric statement of one philosopher.

All artists have had moral messages and moral outlooks entwined in their art. The culmination of human civilization: the art and architecture of the Renaissance, and the art, architecture, and music of the Baroque, were dedicated to the promulgation of a strongly Catholic world-view. The Renaissance was a conscious movement to celebrate and embody Incarnation theology, the view that Jesus Christ was fully human as well as fully divine, in reaction against the then-pervasive medieval heresy that Jesus was only a divine spirit in ghostlike form. Hence the emphasis on three-dimensional representationism, in fidelity to nature, and in particular the Renaissance emphasis on the nude baby Jesus in depictions of the Holy Family.

After the collapse of the Renaissance into the nihilistic and proto-modern art Mannerism of the mid-16th century, the Baroque arose as a conscious expression and embodiment of the spirit of the Catholic Counter-Reformation as laid down in the great Council of Trent: to confront the iconoclastic hatred of religious art and architecture permeating Protestantism, and to create works of art and architecture that celebrate Man, nature, and the beauties of God and the created Universe. To use a current vulgarism, the glorious and magnificent Baroque was a conscious "in-your-face" Catholic answer to Protestantism.

The art-for-art's-sake scam that permeates the modern liberal world-view, was launched by nineteenth-century aesthetes as a camouflage of their own morbid, nihilistic, pessimistic, and violently anti-traditional outlook: the French poets Baudelaire

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and Rimbaud, the Impressionists, Dadaists, and later the Bloomsbury Set and the literary and art critic Roger Fry. Since they could not get anywhere at the time by openly advocating their nihilistic values and epistemology, or their "alternative life-styles," they pushed—unfortunately with great success—the "art has its own reasons" rationale.

Indeed, the 20th century assault on traditional values and mores proceeded in phases, as if we were confronted by a conscious phased plot. First, the left-liberals preached *l'art pour l'art* in esthetics, and, as a corollary, in ethics, trumpeted the new view that there is no such thing as revealed or objective ethics, that all ethics are "subjective," that all of life's choices are only personal, emotive "preferences."

After the destruction of a rational or objective ethics was accomplished, the Left proceeded to the current Phase II. Having managed to subvert traditional Christian and bourgeois values and mores in the West, by destroying the religious and rational groundwork for those values, the Left moved on to their present stance: yes, there is morality, but this "morality" is totally the reverse of the Old Culture: now we find (1) that the "moral" is pure hedonism: "do your own thing," but also, and contradictorily, (2) that it is self-evidently deeply immoral to engage in all manner of "hate thought," personal discrimination, judgments of demerit that can be construed as "racist, sexist, homophobic," anti-disabled, or whatever. (1) and (2) are contradictory if "doing one's own thing" means becoming a skinhead. In that case, of course, political correctness must trump hedonism.

Apart from p.c., the myth has been spread that pushing hedonism is gloriously "non-judgmental," except, of course, if "doing your own thing" means refusing to join in polymorphous perverse play. If the kids in *Brave New World*, or in modern, "therapy"-ridden America don't want to follow the venerable counter-culture motto: "If It Moves, Fondle It," then of course this shows that the kids are seriously "repressed," and they are sent off to the monstrous dwarf Dr. Ruth or to some other "therapist" who will straighten the kid out. Not that moral judgments are being made by the therapists and counselors—Heaven forfend!—but that the kids' behavior is being gently but firmly corrected for the sake of their own alleged "mental health."

Compassion for pregnant widows and divorcees is one thing; admiration for sluts with kids is quite another.

And so, Dan Quayle has a point. Of course, *Murphy Brown*, along with countless other manifestations of our left-liberal culture, glories not in "single motherhood"—a portmanteau phrase that includes widowhood and divorce—but girls who have kids out of wedlock. Shall we use the term "sluts"? Compassion for pregnant widows and divorcees is one thing; admiration for sluts with kids is quite another. Also, leftists seem to think that it is particularly evil for Dan Quayle to criticize *Murphy Brown* or the Hollywood cultural elite. But why is that?

If it is OK—as clearly it is—for artists, entertainers, writers, etc. to criticize politicians, why isn't it OK for politicians to criticize back? Why isn't Dan Quayle free to express *his* values and critiques? To do his own thing? In fact, Hollywood has been a sewer of left-wing thought and expression since the 1930s (no, not the owners, but the writers, actors, directors, producers). It is high time that the cultural elite be subjected to withering and systematic criticism, scorn, and denunciation.

The outbreak of the Woody-Mia scandal during the week of the Republican convention was a fortuitous coincidence that highlighted the cultural warfare theme. For decades, Woody Allen has been the very embodiment of left-liberal values and expression. Beginning as a very funny comic, Woody's movies have become increasingly pretentious and fake-philosophic,

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mouthing nonsense about religion, the meaning of life, and all the rest—all in a manner congenial to the equally pretentious leftist intellectuals that people Manhattan's Upper East and West Sides, where Woody, Mia, and most of Woody's fans live and congregate. Throughout, Woody's ideology has been implicitly leftist—sometimes explicitly, as in the pro-Communist move *The Front*.

But not only that: Woody's and Mia's living arrangements constituted a veritable metaphor of what left-liberal "alternative life styles" are all about: out-of-wedlock, separate apartments, Mia's adopting a veritable zoo of multicultural kids, one after the other—all very mod, very trendy, very politically correct. And then, whamo! Woody goes over just about the last line, or, if you want it put that way, the "last frontier"—incest. Well, OK, it's not legal incest, but it certainly, morally, encompasses what incest is all about: bringing up a kid from early age, as a step-(common law) father, and then taking advantage of her innocent daughterly trust to launch an affair, replete with nude photos.

It has been almost too much for Woody's fans. You mean "If It Moves, Fondle It" could include incest? Shocking! But after all, why not? If all bets are off, if there are no religious or moral restrictions on behavior, why not "go with the flow," why not go with your heart, feelings, gonads, why not Do It? Particularly shocking to Woody's army of left-liberal fans has been his obtuse refusal to see any moral problem in his behavior. She (Woody's quasi-step-daughter) "has turned my life around in a positive way." Well, isn't that it? Woody's movie characters—clearly a metaphor for himself—always follow their heart/gonads but only after a lot of *kvetching* and pseudo-philosophizing; Woody in real life has apparently transcended all that into the purely hedonic.

I am usually not a fan of Dan Quayle or of his control William Kristol, but Kristol was exactly right when asked to comment on the Woody Allen affair: "I'm sure that Woody Allen is a good Democrat." Yes. And here we are: it's Woody Allen, "If It Moves, Fondle It," alternative "families" as any-two-or-more-beings coupling, versus the Traditional, two-parent family, moral principles and restraints, and yes, *Ozzie and Harriet*, the Cleavers, and the *Waltons*. The corrupt, rotten New Culture, versus the glorious, life-affirming Old. There is our Cultural War, and it has come none too soon, and just in time.

Mario Flips Out

I used to admire Mario Cuomo, not for his principles or policies, but for his intelligence and wit. No more. Good at dishing it out, Mario can't take it. His response to the Republican Convention, and to its announcement of *Kulturkampf*, was to Flip Out. Speaking on *Face the Nation* on the Sunday after the Houston convention, Mario was a man crazed with hate. He denounced the Bush campaign and the Republicans with the very same invective with which Left-liberals have denounced David Duke, Pat Buchanan, and H. Ross Perot.

The Republicans, said Mario, are "Nazis." Why? Get this: because "the Nazis used the word 'culture'." Breathtakingly imbecilic. Is Mario claiming that only Nazis have ever used the word or concept of "culture?" Are all anthropologists, sociologists, literary critics, social observers "Nazis?" Not only that: Mario was too frenzied to remember that the Nazis, if anything, hated the word almost as much as he does. It was a young Nazi novelist, after all, who made the famous remark: "Every time I hear the world 'culture,' I reach for my Browning."

Also, Mario claimed that the Republican convention was "racist." How so? Because a lot of the speakers attacked New York. "Why do they attack New York all the time," asked Mario, answering his own question with: "Because when you see New York City, you see all those different colors, all that ethnicity, all those poor people."

Yes, Mario, and you also see a veritable cesspool of crime and mugging and filth and drug addiction and garbage and bums amidst the most socialistic city government in the country. How in the world could anyone criticize New York? Just look around you, Mario. Our once wonderful city has been taken over by scum, with the help of you and your buddies.

Not content with all this, Mario also claimed that the

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Republican Convention was "anti-Semitic." What? How do you get that? Because Newt Gingrich attacked Woody Allen, and said that the Democratic family values platform clause was a "Woody Allen plank." And why would anyone in his right mind criticize Woody Allen these days? Because, opined Mario, Gingrich was attacking "short Jewish guys." Victimology run rampant! Gee, Mario, as a short Jewish guy myself, I don't feel that Gingrich was using Woody Allen as a code name to attack me! in fact, Woody Allen is indeed an excellent metaphor for the Democrat Party and for our entire left-liberal dominated culture.

Woody Allen is indeed an excellent metaphor for the Democrat Party.

Moreover, Mario claimed, the Republican Convention was "anti-Italian." Huh? He said all over the convention were "T-shirts of Italians as the Mafia." Wrong, Mario, there were no such T-shirts. There was, however, a satirical movie poster—being sold by one merchant—of a movie, "Slick Willie," featuring Teddy Kennedy as "the chaperone" and Mario as "The Godfather." Whatsamatter, can't take a joke, Mario? If you remember, Mario, it was not a Republican, but your own beloved standard-bearer, Slick Willie, who told Gennifer on that tape that you "act like a member of the Mafia."

At first, Mario was going to make the New York taxpayers foot the bill for his trip to Washington to make his outrageous and odious comments on *Face the Nation*, but, after a storm of protest, he finally agreed to pay for it out of his campaign pocket.

Mario's gutter flipout should have been page one news in every media outlet in the country. And yet, as far as I know, the news appeared in only one place: in an article by Fred Dicker in the lively tabloid, *The New York Post* (8/24). And that's it. Apart from that one source, the news media, once again, faked reality by suppressing this item and protecting their own heroes, of whom Mario is a star.

I used to think Mario Cuomo was smart and funny. He's still smart, I guess, but he's no longer funny. He's a national disgrace. Do we want this creep on the Supreme Court? Because that's who we'll get if the leftists, left-libertarians, neocons, and short-sighted dog-in-the-manger types have their way, and Slick Willie becomes President.

Bumbling Bush is no great bargain, but to keep undercutting the President from now until Election Day means, that whatever your intent, your are objectively pro-Clinton, and that you are helping a future Clinton Administration to dig the grave of liberty, of the free market, and of what's left of traditional American culture. ■

Bobby Fischer: The Lynching of the Returning Hero

by M.N.R

Twenty years ago, Bobby Fischer was the hero of the American media. A remarkable chess prodigy and genius, Bobby surmounted a concerted attempt by the dominant Soviet grandmasters to keep him out of the world championship. His defeat of then champion, Soviet grandmaster Boris Spassky, at the match at Rejkjavik was the toast of the world; here was the first American chess player to become the best in the world. Fischer's victory revivified chess in the U.S. and across the globe, and succeeded in making chess tourneys a big business.

Bobby was an eccentric, but many geniuses are eccentric, and virtually every top chess player shares that quality. As in the case of many geniuses, Bobby made many demands of officials around him, in his case tournament directors; from a distance, they seemed picky and a little batty. His demands not being met, Bobby retired from world chess, and has not played in public for seventeen

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years. Now, lured by a multi-million dollar gate guaranteed by a Yugoslav businessman, Bobby, still maintaining that he is undefeated world champion, agreed to play his old rival Spassky, the first ten-game winner to be declared the victor.

One would think that the media would hail the return of the colorful, charismatic, and memorable Bobby. Americans, after all, are sentimental and love "Comeback Kids," as Slick Willie has realized. And yet, oddly enough, Bobby's return has been greeted with a stream of frenetic and hysterical abuse by the once-admiring media, the Smear Brigade being led by such Respectable organs as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, the *Post* being particularly vicious. The other organs of opinion duly followed the line set down by the elites.

Let us note some of the common charges.

One: Bobby is "paranoid," having charged that the Soviet grandmasters delayed his championship for a decade by conspiring to draw against each other, saving all their ammunition to turn against him. And yet, years later, defecting Soviet grandmaster Victor Korchnoi backed up Bobby's "paranoid" charges to the hilt.

Two: Bobby makes excessive, trivial, and loony demands of tournament directors. And yet, virtually all of these supposedly wacko demands have now been adopted, and chess experts have begun to see their merits. For example: It was Bobby's correct charges of Soviet conspiracy that forced the international chess authorities to change the way they pick championship contenders, turning from tournaments (where deliberate draws can be concocted) to one-on-one matches, where such conspiracies cannot take place. Bobby has also pioneered in changing tournament time clocks, to guard against being rushed to beat the time clock. This innovation showed a principled regard for the good of the game, since one of Bobby's attributes as a chess player is that he himself was virtually never in time trouble.

Three: Bobby, now 50, is older and fatter and balder than he was as a gangling youth twenty and more years ago. Well, gee, that's a helluva charge: tell me, guys, who *isn't* older and fatter and balder twenty years later?

Is it really nutty for a celebrity to want the press to leave him alone?

Four: Bobby *must* be a nut, since he lived as a "recluse" for these lapsed seventeen years. Well, being a "recluse" is often in the eye of the beholder. In Bobby's case, it seems to mean guarding his privacy against the prying of the barracuda press. Is it really nutty, for a celebrity to want the press to leave him alone?

Five: The writer in the *Washington Post*, who reached the acme of frenzy in denouncing poor Bobby, noted that since Bobby is in violation of the absurd UN "sanctions" against Yugoslavia, his "dealing with the enemy" Serbs by playing chess could subject Bobby to a large fine and ten years in jail. For playing chess?! The *Post* writer declared that prison for Bobby wouldn't be bad, since it would compare favorably with the residential motels in Pasadena where Bobby has been living for the past two decades. I'm sure this writer is one of these guys bleeding with compassion for the "homeless," How would his fans like it if he said that jail is fine for the homeless, since jail is better than living on the streets? If the *Post* guy would never make such an "insensitive" statement, does he really think that living in cheap motels is worse than being homeless?

Six: Bobby is now accompanied by an 18-year old Hungarian girlfriend, a fellow tournament chess player who thinks Bobby is the greatest. Fischer has actually been denounced for having a young girlfriend, by people who liken this fact to the Woody Allen case of quasi-incest!

So why the unfair and out-of-line hysteria about Bobby? Well, it turns out that Bobby, an independent thinker in other

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fields than chess, is definitely not Politically Correct. Apparently, even chess players are not allowed to stray beyond the narrow bounds of p.c. without being severely punished. When asked about the "sanctions" against him, Bobby heroically pulled out a letter from the U.S. Treasury, warning him that if he went through with the match, he would be violating UN sanctions and subject to fine and imprisonment. Bobby met this challenge by heroically spitting on the Treasury letter, and declaring that he doesn't recognize the sovereignty of the United Nations in fact, that the world would be a lot better without the UN. Bobby then magnified his deviation from the Accepted Norm by denouncing Zionism as racism, and declaring that "Bolshevism is a mask for Judaism." The stunned journalist pointed out that, as a lad born in Brooklyn of Jewish descent, Fischer is himself a Jew under "Jewish law" because his mother is Jewish. One wonders why the supposedly secular American press treats "Jewish law" as if it were the law of the land; would they accord the same reverence to, say, Muslim law?

So we are faced with the important question: are we going to insist that, successful people in every walk of life, in order to maintain their positions, will have to sign on to the entire barrage of politically correctness? Before we honor or consult a dentist, an actor, an astronomer, a baseball pitcher, a composer, are we going to run them through the gauntlet of p.c., quiz them unmercifully, and make sure that everyone of them is sound on the Jewish, black, gay, Hispanic, disabled, animal rights, and dozens of other issues of the day? Are we going to fit everyone, regardless of occupation, to the Procrustean bed? How far are we going to forge the chains of totalitarianism in our society?

Are we going to have say, metaphorically, and even literally if he is nabbed for "violation of sanctions": Free Bobby Fischer and All Political Prisoners?! ■

Liberal Hysteria: The Mystery Explained

by M.N.R.

"Why," an old paleocon friend of mine and I were musing the other day, "why are leftists so hysterically opposed to the reelection of an innocuous president like George Bush?" My friend and I agreed that we hadn't seen such naked media bias since the days of the demonized Joe McCarthy. Why? Is it abortion? Feminism? What?

The first time I had seen left-liberal frenzy at work was growing up in the thirties in New York City. In the late Thirties, my leftist family, friends, and neighbors were in a paroxysm of fear and rage over the counter-revolution of Franco and of the looming defeat of the Leftist Spanish government in the Spanish Civil War. There abounded denunciations of Franco, and calls for everything from milk to arms to soldiers —the volunteer "International Brigade to defend the Spanish Left (dubbed "Loyalists" in the value-loaded term adopted by the New York *Times* and other Respectables).

Note, these were people who displayed no interest whatever, before or since, in Spanish history, culture, or politics. So why all the bother about Spain? Left-liberal historian Allen Guttmann has even recorded and celebrated this hysteria over Spain in his book, *The Wound in the Heart* (the title says it all.) One time I asked my friend Frank S. Meyer, who had been a top American Communist, about this puzzle. "Why all the emotionalism about Spain, Frank?" Frank shrugged: "We [the Communists] could never figure it out. But we made use of the liberal emotionalism on the issue."

The orthodox explanation of historians is that American leftists were especially sensitive to the "threat of fascism," and that they were frantically pro-Spanish Left because they saw the Civil War as a preview of an inevitable World War II. But the problem with *that* explanation is that, while left-liberals were of course enthusiastically in favor of the "good" World War II against the Axis, they never summoned up quite the same emotionalism, quite the same frenzy, even against Hitler, as they had done against Franco.

To come back to the present: is the abortion issue the key to the mania, to the fear and loathing? Yes and no. Yes, abortion is an important issue to the left, but consider the situation *before Roe v. Wade* in

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1973. While liberals were of course always in favor of abortion rights, it was never a big political issue for them. In the decades before 1973, there were no "abortion rights" marches, no unkempt harridans shrieking, "get your hands off my vagina!" So, what's the key?

I submit that a clue can be found in the mini-hysteria that the American Left displayed over the counter-revolution against the Leftist Allende regime in Chile, a counter-revolution that put Pinochet in power. The Left has *still* not forgiven or forgotten the Chilean Right and the CIA for the *coup*; Allende is still a beloved martyr on the Left and his wife Isobel an icon. Is it because a Commie regime was rolled back? Close, but still no cigar; for the Left showed no particular emotion, no great rending of clothes, when the Communist regimes collapsed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

I submit that The Answer to the mystery is as follows: the Left are, in their bones, "progressives," that is , they believe, in Whig or Marxoid fashion, that History consists of an inevitable March Upward into the light, toward and into the Socialist Utopia. They believe in the myth of inevitable progress; that History is on their side. As Social Democrats or Mensheviks, as kissin' or sometimes feuding cousins of the Communists or Bolsheviks, they have a similar, though not the identical ideal goal: A socialist, egalitarian State, run by bureaucrats, intellectuals, technocrats, "therapists," and the New Class in general in collaboration with accredited victim pressure groups striving for "equality". These groups including, blacks, women, gays, Latinos, the disabled, and on and on. They believe that History is marching inevitably toward that goal. A vital part of that goal is the destruction of the traditional, "bourgeois," two-parent, nuclear family, and the bringing up of all children by the State and its New Class of licensed counselors, child-care "givers," and therapists.

Social Democrats or Mensheviks, are 'kissin' or sometimes feuding cousins of the Communist or Bolsheviks.

The Utopian, march of History, goal of the Social Democrats is similar to , but not quite the same as, that of the Communists. To the Commies, the goal was the nationalization of the means of production, the eradication of the capitalist class, and the coming to the power of the proletariat. The Social Democrats realize that it is far better for the socialist State to retain the capitalists and a truncated market economy, to be regulated, confined, controlled, and subject to the commands of the State. The Social Democrat goal is not "class war," but a kind of "class harmony," in which the capitalists and the market are forced to work and slave for the good of "society" and of the parasitic State apparatus. The Communists wanted a one-party dictatorship, with all dissenters stamped out or confined to the Gulag. The Social-Democrats far prefer a "soft" dictatorship, what Marcuse called, in another context, "repressive tolerance", with a two-party system where both parties agree on all fundamentals and joust politely over minor issues. ("Should we increase taxes by 5, or by 7, percent this year?") Freedom of speech and press will be tolerated by Social Democrats, but again only within minor and trivial limits. Social Democrats shuddered at the naked brutality of the Gulag; what they prefer is sending dissidents to endure the "soft," "therapeutic" dictatorship of "sensitivity training" and "being educated in the dignity of alternative life-styles." In other words: *Brave New World* instead of *1984*. The "upward march of democracy" rather than the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Also typical is the distinction, in the two Utopias, about the handling of religion. Communists, as fanatical atheists, aimed to stamp out religion altogether. Social Democrats prefer the softer way: to subvert Christianity so that religion will become the Social Democrats' ally. Hence, the shrewd Social-Democrat cooptation of the

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Christian Left: emphasizing modernism among Catholics, and left-pietist evangelicalism among Protestants, the latter aiming to bring about a Kingdom of God on Earth that will be a coercive, egalitarian "community of Love." It is a much shrewder strategy: to join in multi-cultural singing of "We Shall Overcome" rather than murdering priests and nuns and nationalizing churches. We should never forget, however, that the latter was done by the liberals' own beloved Spanish Republican regime, and by its Trotskyite and Left-Anarchist supporters, with nary a peep of protest by their adoring liberal and Social Democrat supporters in the United States.

The difference in goals—soft vs. hard totalitarianism—is also reflected in the marked difference in means and strategies. The Communists, at least in their classic Leninist phase, looked forward to a violent, apocalyptic revolution to destroy the capitalist State and usher in the proletarian dictatorship. The Mensheviks, or Social Democrats, or Neocons, true to their "democratic" ideal, have always been uneasy about revolution, and have much preferred the more gradual "evolution" brought about by democratic elections. The elections are to be primed, of course, by a Gramscian long march in conquest of the nation's cultural and social institutions. Hence, the discrediting of the Gulag and of revolution, and the disappearance of their Bolshevik cousins and competitors, have not been mourned by Social Democracy. On the contrary, Social Democrats now remain with a monopoly of the "progressive" march of History toward Utopia.

Which bring me back to The Answer about left-liberal hysteria. They become hysterical when they perceive a rollback, or the threat thereof, of the Inevitable March of History. They become hysterical at setbacks, at regressions in that march, regressions which have, of course, been dubbed "reactions." In both the Communist and the Social Democrat world view, the highest, if not the only, morality is to be "progressive," to be in touch with , on the side of, being the "midwife" of (in Marx's famous term), the inevitable next phase of history. In the same way, the deepest, if not the only, immorality, is to be "reactionary," to be devoted to opposing inevitable progress, or even and at its worst, working to *roll back* the tide, and to restore the past, "to turn back the clock." *That* is the worst sin of all, and it calls out all the frenzies, perhaps because any successful rollback would call into question the deepest, most powerfully held "religious" myth held by left-liberals: that historical progress toward their Utopia is inevitable. Let reaction occur, let the phases be rolled back, and these people flip out, go into orbit, for then maybe their religion is a false one after all.

We are engaged, in the deepest sense, as Pat Buchanan said in his Houston convention speech, in a "religious war" and not just a cultural one, religious because left-liberalism/ Social Democracy is a passionately held world-view, "religion" in the deepest sense, held on faith: the view that the inevitable goal of history is a perfect world, an egalitarian socialist world, a Kingdom of God on Earth, even if that God is pantheized (as under Hegel and the Romantics) or atheized (as under Marx). It is a religious worldview toward which there must be no quarter; it must be opposed and combated with every fiber of our being.

Who will win this war? No one knows. On which side lies the majority of Americans? It's probably up for grabs. Most Americans are confused, pulled one way and the other, torn between conflicting worldviews. They can go either way. During his numerous factional battles inside the Marxist movement, Lenin once wrote that there were two battling poles, each in a minority, and in the majority were the confused whom he referred to as The Swamp. Most Americans are confused and constitute The Swamp; they are the terrain over which most of the battles will be fought. And the metaphor is properly military. The looming struggle is far wider and deeper than over indexing the capital gains tax. It is a life-and-death struggle for our very souls, and for the future of America. And now we see why Pat Buchanan drove the liberals into frenzy when he called for a war to "take back our culture, to back our country"; it was not just the "war", it was the *taking back*, the trumpet call to become openly and gloriously *reactionary*.

For left-liberals don't very much mind, in fact they welcome

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the sort of liberal-conservative cycle that Arhtur Schlesinger likes to celebrate: a decade or sc of left-liberal "advance," followed by perhaps a decade of consolidation, or slower rate of advance, effected by "conservatives." That indeed has been the much-lauded historical function of "conservative" Republican regimes ever since the 1930's: the function of Eisenhower, of Nixon-Ford, and yes even of Reagan and Bush. It is the prospect of conservatism becoming *reactionary*, of actually rolling back liberal "gains," that drives them berserk: hence, the hysteria about Franco and Pinochet, hence the lynching of Joe McCarthy (because he was threatening to succeed in rolling back not just Communists but even liberals and Social Democrats) and now the response to at least a perceived threat of conservative Republicans rolling back some of the gains on abortion, feminism, gay "rights", black "rights", and victimology in general.

The war for reaction will require, above all, courage, the guts not to buckle at the all-too-predictable smear response of the media, of the pollsters, and all the rest. Above all, the goal must *not* be to become beloved by the *New York Times* and the Respectable Media. That way can only mean more sellout, more defeat.

In this total cultural war we begin with a lot of people, we also have writers and institutions, we have a great spokesman in Pat Buchanan. But we need infrastructure and organization to bring some coherence to what has been an all-too inchoate movement. We need an active membership organized into local chapters, something which has been achieved by very few organizations on the Right, notably Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum and Republican National Coalition for Life, which together have a stunning total of 200,000 members and that's *real* members, not just letterheads. We need PACs, we need a political-ideological magazine parallel to *National Review*, we lack an organization to hold conferences and publish books and papers, and we need political candidates at all levels. And above all we need what the Left fears above all: An adherence to the military metaphor, to the concept of us vs. them, good guys vs. bad guys, to Taking America Back. We must aim, not only for rolling it all back, not only for saving us from the Leviathan State and nihilist culture, and not only for restoring the Old Republic. For eventually we must drive the wooden stake through the heart of the Enemy, to kill once and for all the monstrous dream of the Perfect Socialized World. ■

We need an adherence to the military metaphor, to the concept of us vs. them, good guys vs. bad guys, to Taking America Back.

In Defense of "Gouging"

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The bureaucrats of Dade Country, Florida, have been too close to Fidel Castro for too long: they're following his example by cracking down on the price system. While looters roam free, businessmen are faced with $500 fines and 60 days in jail for price "gouging." And the state attorney general's "economic crimes unit" (named after a division of the old KGB?) is threatening $10,000 fines for the same offense.

But a natural disaster is no time to try to throw out economics. "Gouging" is just the price system responding to new realities, and if businessmen are not allowed to charge accurate prices, desperately needed goods will disappear.

A hurricane changes supply and demand. As a result, gasoline sells for $2 a gallon, bottled water for $15 a gallon, bags of ice for $5, a roll of roofing tarpaper for $15. These prices tell consumers to economize, and alert suppliers to rush goods to Dade County.

If the prices were forced down to pre-hurricane levels, there would be little ice, water, gasoline, or tarpaper, and those who really needed these products would be deprived.

I'd like to give Florida officials

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this little quiz:

1. Roses are more expensive on St. Valentine's Day because:
   a) florists are greedy;
   b) consumers are stupid and vulnerable;
   c) roses are more in demand.
2. During the Gulf War, gasoline prices went up because:
   a) Arabs took advantage of us;
   b) oil companies were mean;
   c) producers and consumers feared shortages.
3. Coffee prices rise after a Brazilian frost because:
   a) Colombians and Costa Ricans are covetous;
   b) importers are racketeers;
   c) coffee supplies are lower.
4. Ice in Miami now costs $5 a bag because:
   a) ice makers have no decency;
   b) the government is not doing its job;
   c) the demand for ice is high and supplies are low.

The answer to all questions is "c," of course. In each case, a free-floating price system responds to changes, keeping supply and demand in line. If government held down the prices of St. Valentine's Day roses, sweethearts would be deprived at the very time they most wanted the flowers.

Bob Butterworth, Florida's attorney general, would get an F on my test. He's subpoenaing sales records to make sure stores charge no more after the hurricane then before. And he's sending out undercover agents to catch sellers of $5 bags of ice. There is "no difference between a looter and a person who is gouging victims of this disaster," he told the *New York Times*.

Here's the difference, Bob. A looter steals from disaster victims. He should be shot on sight.

Here's the difference, Bob. A looter steals from disaster victims. He should be shot on sight. A "gouger" offers goods and services to willing customers under very tough conditions. He's a producer, a provider, a hero.

But what's to keep producers from charging above-market prices? First, consumers' willingness to pay. No producer can force people to pay up, even in desperate times. But how can we tell a market price? If a consumer buys something, he indicates by that act that the good is worth more to him than the money he exchanged for it. Second, competition holds producers in check. If one Miamian is hocking ice for $50 dollars a bag, and another one is charging $5, consumers know where to go. The fact that the old price was $1 is irrelevant.

The genius of the price system is precisely its ability to reflect reality. No one can know what's available and in what quantities on the South Florida or any other market. Prices tell us, and that function is even more important in the chaos of a natural disaster.

And speaking of disasters, what about government gouging, that permanent Hurricane Andrew? Dade County and the state economic crimes unit are enhancing their bureaucratic power by harassing honest businessmen. Now that's the equivalent of looting.

If Florida's state and local governments really want to assist the rebuilding effort, here's the Rockwell Plan: enact a one-year tax holiday for all individuals and businesses, and exempt builders from regulations so they can get the job done faster.

Instead of dumping federal aid on Florida's governments to be wasted, President Bush should add federal taxes and regulations to the holiday. Talk about a time to send roses! We'd see the fastest rebuilding in history. Not that I'm holding my breath. Public officials who bash the price system aren't about to let the market do its work. ■

The Question of Prostitution

by L.H.R., Jr.

What should a paleo-libertarian think about prostitution? The issue seems to highlight the

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alleged inconsistencies in the term. On one hand, the libertarian sees prostitution as a voluntary exchange that should be legal so long as it takes place in private and on private property. On the other hand, the paleo has profound respect for tradition and the natural law, and worries about the public effects of private vice. He may want to outlaw prostitution.

For a reconciliation of the two views, we can thank the great traditional Catholic magazine published in Europe and the U.S., *30 Days*, which the neocons tried to kill, so you know it's good. (A one-year subscription is $35 to *30 Days*, 28 Trinity St., Newton, N.J. 07860, or phone 800-321-2255 to charge to your credit card.)

Father Giacomo Ceretto, reports *30 Days*, has led a quiet life as a parish priest in one of Rome's less-desirable neighborhoods for more than 20 years. Now everyone wants his head, because he's called for the legalization of brothels, as a lesser evil than their illegalization.

Prostitution is, as Father Ceretto avers, a moral evil. Religion as well as sociobiology tell us that sex and marriage belong together. Moreover, a brothel spoils a good neighborhood, and street walkers are offensive, especially to families with children.

The world would be better off without prostitution, as it would be better off without any other sin, but that dream resides only in the minds of millennarians and communists. Prostitution has always been with us, and always will. In that case, what to do?

Traditional Catholic teaching has said: disapprove morally, tolerate legally. To Saint Augustine, "their way of life is totally impure," but if "prostitutes were removed from the human species, every sort of thing would be ravaged by lecherous passion."

In this view, prostitution serves as a sort of social safety valve to prevent worse sins. The medieval *Summae* for confessors put it this way: "As Moses permitted the repudiation of unfaithful wives when he realized that his people were inclined to kill them, so the Church permits the existence of prostitutes and their clients so as to prevent even more serious passions."

Tolomeo da Lucca, a medieval Dominican theologian, wrote that, "the women of ill-repute in society are like the sewerage drains in a building. Take away the drainpipes and the whole building will become infected."

St. Thomas Aquinas stated the general principle, "All-powerful and infinitely good as He is, nevertheless God allows certain evil to grow in the world so that it may serve against the loss of greater goodness, hence expanding even greater evil."

A test of the theory occurred around A.D. 1200, when prostitutes donated a magnificent stained-glass window to the Cathedral of Notre Dame. The embarrassed priests wondered what to do, and St. Thomas answered: "it is the condition of the prostitute which is depraved, not that which she earns." The "Church may legitimately accept her alms."

At the same time, the Church insisted that the prostitutes be kept away from normal society. In many cities, they had to practice their profession outside the walls. If they ventured inside, they were taxed and the money turned over to cloistered nuns, who prayed for the prostitutes' souls.

Like the nuns, the Church as a whole was always concerned for the "Mary Magdelenes," and Pope Innocent III said that "to marry a prostitute is pious and worthy." He blessed the man who "frees a woman from her brothel" through marriage.

It was only in the 16th century that prostitution became widely illegal in Europe, and punished with whips and brandings and even death sentences, as part of a chilling attempt to abolish sin through government.

Today, should prostitution be outlawed, or, as St. Thomas recommended, confined to a red-light district? That is how the market would handle the problem, just as it segregates seedier trades in seedier areas. It is not the law that prevents the Bloomingdales from selling pornography.

Nothing good is served, as Father Ceretto points out, by a war on prostitutes, which only enhances state power, corrupts the police, prevents health exams, channels base sexual instincts into even more destructive paths, and makes it more difficult to hold out to prostitutes the hope of repentance and forgiveness.

Pope Pius XII summed it up: "Not interfering" with prostitution through "state laws or coercive means" can be "justified

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by a higher morality. God himself governs the world in this way. He does not always immediately forbid, although he could, evil and error which he himself disapproves."

Pius XII, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas: paleolibertarians. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Wipe Out the White Race?

That's the position of Morton Kondracke as expressed in *The New Republic*. "My kids are gorgeous living proofs of my long-held theory that race mixing is good," he says. But blacks are left out of Kondracke's gorgeous genetic mosaic of America's future. The answer? "White men and black women should do their country a favor and marry each other more often. I am not against intermarriage by black men and white women," but there are not enough educated black men to go around. To achieve a democracy based on equality, we must "treat each other as family. That would be a lot easier if each of us were related to someone of another color and if, eventually, we were all one color. In America, this can happen."

"Free the L.A. Four"

That chant echoed recently at a street picnic in honor of Damiam Williams, one of the black Los Angeles gang members video taped in the beating of white motorist Reginald Denny. "All the guys from 69th Street to the 90s say, 'What's up?' to the L.A. Four and be cool and we'll be with them no matter what happens," a young man named Drac told the *New York Times*.

"Lord bless our brothers who have been locked up unjustified," a black minister said about the members of the murderous 8-Trey Gangster Crips.

Williams, a former semi-pro football player who hit the beaten and unconscious Denny in the head with a paving block, was described to the *Times* by a former teammate as "just a loving, peace-loving guy." His mother, Georgiana Williams, says that if he did throw that block and dance "a victory jig," he must have been "provoked" by Denny.

Mrs. Williams, "whose home is filled with Bibles, which she also uses as address books, scribbling telephone numbers in the margins," predicts "another explosion" if her son and his companions are convicted.

Another local Williams supporter, MC Jojo, said the Denny beating was retribution for the way young black men are treated: "That why Reginald Denny got beat in the street."

The Saturday *New York Times*

I love the Saturday *New York Times*. Since it is the least-read edition, it's where the editors run stories they don't want to run, but feel they must, such as the latest evidence showing that John Demjanjuk was railroaded by the Justice Department. It's also where the *Times* announced the conviction of Yahweh ben Yahweh, the black religious leader, on charges of murdering 14 people—whites as an initiation ceremony and blacks for seeking to leave his cult. Yahweh was also convicted of the attempted murder of two other whites, and the burning of an entire city block in Delray Beach, Florida. And this is only what could be proved. Yahweh's religion—which had hundreds of members—required the murder of a white person for full status. But the judge gave Yahweh a lenient sentence—he can be out in six years—because he "tried to be a good citizen" recently.

There has been virtually no national publicity on this racial mass murder case in Miami. Imagine what we would have heard, and the societal conclusions that would have been drawn, about a white cult that demanded the murder of blacks.

Rap(e)

On the same CD on which "Ice-T" advocated police murder, and which has now been reissued by the egregious Time Warner minus only that song, the rapper talks about burning a woman to death after first raping her, beating her with his "Louisville Slugger," and slicing her with his "handy carving knife." An album by the group "Niggers With Attitude," to which Ice-T used to belong, celebrates tying a woman to a bed, raping her, and shooting her with a .44 magnum pistol. The number is entitled is "One Less Bitch."

Rap, by the way, is defended by Kevin Pritchett, an editorial writer at the *Wall Street Journal*,

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as "a positive social force." It cannot be written off because of the "antics of a few." It is "a true expression of African-American culture."

A song that fits that qualification, says Pritchett, is by "economist" Young MC and "gives a succinct economics lesson" to "men who want a date": "Girls are fakin for goodness sakin/They want a man who brings home the bacon/And if you got no money and you got no car/Then you got no woman and there you are."

Music Uncaged

That Ayn Rand villain of a musician, John Cage, died in August at the age of 79, and the "Minimalist" composer and his work were celebrated in a mega-obituary in the *New York Times*.

"In the musical world," Cage's "influence was extremely far-reaching," said the *Times*. "He started a revolution" by jettisoning "the musical language" of the "last seven centuries," and thus opening "the door to Minimalism, performance art, and virtually every other branch of the musical avant garde."

"Girls are fakin for goodness sakin/They want a man who brings home the bacon."

Cage composed for almost every instrument, including the "prepared piano," into whose strings he put nails, paper, wood, rubber bands, and other foreign objects to make the notes "otherworldly."

One of his most "famous and provocative works" was "4'33", four minutes and 33 seconds of silence "divided into three movements." "I don't like meaningful sound," Cage once said. "If a sound is meaningless, I'm all for it." Cage studied under Arnold Schoenberg as well as the Dadaists. His "Imaginary Landscape No. 1" (1939) used "variable-speed turntables." When he performed at the Museum of Modern Art in 1943, using flower pots and frequency oscillators, however, the stick-in-the-mud *Times* critic, Noel Strauss, compared it to "the meaningless sounds made by children banging on tin pans."

After studying Zen Buddhism, Cage wrote music in which pitch, duration, timbre, and dynamics were determined by the toss of a coin. Another of his works was scored for twelve radios, whose volume and station dials were changed at random. For still another piece, he tape recorded 42 phonograph records, cut the tape into small pieces, mixed them up, and then spliced them together.

"In 'Water Music' (1952), almost as much of a classic as '4'33",' he had a pianist pour water from one pot into another." For this and other works, he was honored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, by New York City with the Mayors's Award for Honor in the Arts and Culture, and by the French government with its highest honor for "distinguished contribution to cultural life."

Note: a leading Cagist, according to the *Times*, is left-libertarian Richard Kostelanetz.

Bardot Update

"Onetime sex kitten Brigitte Bardot has sued several European magazines for publishing intimate pictures of her that were taken during a Mediterranean cruise," says the *Washington Post*. "She was photographed with a male friend lounging aboard the yacht of Jen-Marie Le Pen, the leader of France's extreme right National Front party."

Value for Money

"Sir: I was not surprised to read that passengers on a train raised no objection when a couple carried out acts of gross indecency and protested only when they lit up afterwards," wrote Avril R. Munson to the London *Spectator*. "You may or may not be aware that for the price of smoking on a London omnibus (£400) you can be drunk and disorderly and commit Actual Bodily Harm *and* assault a constable in the execution of his duty. This is a pretty fair indication of moral standards in 1992."

New Frontiers in Workman's Comp

Ruth Jandrucko of Miami is terrified of blacks, especially "large black males," after having

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her back broken by one during a mugging in the company parking lot. As a result, she says, she cannot work for her multi-racial employer, and the state of Florida has awarded her $50,000 for "post-traumatic stress disorder." It was an unusual case, reports the *Washington Post*, because it pitted "a worker's right to receive benefits after a work-related injury against a company's need to preserve a racially integrated workforce."

Jandrucko, 65, is "no racist," says her lawyer. She was "friendly with blacks" before the mugging. But now, "seeing black men," even in grocery stores, "frightens" her, although she is not afraid of "CNN's Bernard Shaw on television."

The ACLU is opposing the award. "They can give her benefits for any reason they like," says its lawyer, "but not for disliking blacks. If everybody starts doing it, where do you end up?"

Summertime, and the Living's Uneasy

On a late August weekend, 23 people were murdered in Los Angeles, a new record. "When it's warm, people congregate outside," said police spokesman John Dunkin. "People also tend to drink larger amounts of alcohol than usual." One incident involved the shooting of a teenage girl in a wheelchair because she didn't know the directions to a "south-central L.A. intersection." But what can you expect? The weather was especially hot, and "that will cause people to act unusual."

The Trouble With Twanna

Twanna Hammond was the fastest runner in her senior class at a Baltimore high school, so she decided to try out for the football team. In a pre-season scrimmage, she was tackled and fell on the feet of another player, rupturing her pancreas and almost killing her. She was in the hospital for two and a half months. So naturally she and her mother are suing the school board. No one had told them, they claim, that the male sport had "risks of serious and disabling injuries."

Actual Justice?

When a student at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago painted a portrait of the late Harold Washington in bra, panties, garters, and stockings, three black aldermen confiscated the painting as "disgracing" Chicago's first black mayor. The painting, entitled "Mirth and Girth," showed Harold dressed the way he apparently liked to appear in private. But this "increased tensions in the African-American community," especially since the artist was white. Now a federal judge has ruled that the aldermen must pay damages out of their own pockets to the artist, as must the former police commissioner, perhaps totaling $100,000 each. ■

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